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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	EB-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/029W
-----DAFF10 191643Z /38							

R 191620Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SECSTATE WASHDC 1030

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 002269

E.O. 12356: 10 YEARS
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PREL, PHUM, UN, RW
SUBJECT: BOUTROS-GHALI VISIT STIRS UP RESENTMENT

1. C-- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SEPTTEL GAVE OUTLINE OF UN SYG BOUTROS GHALI'S VISIT TO

RWANDA JULY 13-14. AS MORE DETAILS OF HIS TRIP HAVE NOW
BECOME AVAILABLE, AND AS RWANDAN REACTION TO THE TRIP HAS
BEEN VOCAL AND SOMETIMES BITTER, WE PROVIDE A SECOND
LOOK.
3. BBG'S REMARKS AT THE RWANDAN PARLIAMENT WERE FRANK AND
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DIRECT. EXCERPTS IN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION FOLLOW:

-- I INSIST THAT IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE ENTIRE RWANDAN NATION PARTICIPATE FULLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSIONS HAVE RESULTED IN THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH WE HAVE LIVED THROUGH.

-- WE MUST SEEK A SOLUTION TO THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THE UN CANNOT FORCE REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME. THAT'S ONE PROBLEM. BUT THE OTHER PROBLEM IS THE IS THE FEAR ONE FINDS IN THE CAMPS. IT IS YOUR DUTY, BECAUSE THEY ARE YOUR BROTHERS, AND IT IS IN YOUR INTEREST TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE WITH THE REFUGEES. THE GUILTY SHOULD BE PUNISHED, BUT FOR THE GRAND MASS OF REFUGEES DIALOGUE SHOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

-- RELATED TO THE FEAR OF THE REFUGEES IS LACK OF PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS FOR THE RWANDANS TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PROBLEMS. AND THE QUICKER YOU FIND THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM THE QUICKER YOU WILL OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AND RECOGNITION. THE LONGER YOU DELAY, THE MORE YOU RISK FURTHER CONFLICT AND DIFFICULTIES. THERE IS A NEW PHENOMENON: DONOR FATIGUE. COUNTRIES WITH PROBLEMS OF THEIR OWN ARE ASKING WHY THEY SHOULD BE CALLED UPON TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

-- DON'T WAIT FOR THE CREATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RECONCILIATION TO BEGIN. DON'T SAY "WE ARE GOING TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION." IT IS NECESSARY TO BEGIN RECONCILIATION IMMEDIATELY.

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4. THESE COMMENTS DID NOT SIT WELL WITH ALL ASSEMBLED DEPUTIES AND MINISTERS. SEVERAL (ALL RPF OR TUTSI) POSED QUESTIONS WHICH WERE AS DIRECT AS BBG'S REMARKS:

-- ARE YOU ADVISING US TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED GENOCIDE?

-- IS IT LOGICAL THAT RWANDA SHOULD STILL UNDER AN ARMS

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EMBARGO?

-- HOW DOES THE UN THINK RECONCILIATION WILL COME ABOUT WITHOUT JUSTICE AND WITHOUT REPENTANCE?

-- WHAT IS THE UN DOING TO SEPARATE INNOCENT REFUGEES FROM THE KILLERS IN THE CAMPS?

5. BBG'S RESPONSES WERE LONG AND MEANDERING. NO, HE DID NOT ADVOCATE DIALOGUE WITH THE PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE, BUT HE WOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MASTERMIND AND PAWN. HE HAD TRIED TO FIND COUNTRIES WILLING TO SEND FORCES TO SEPARATE THE MILITARY FROM THE CIVILIANS IN THE CAMPS -- 46 COUNTRIES HAVE SO FAR REFUSED. HE SAID HE WAS NOT TRYING TO CRITICIZE RWANDA, BUT TO POINT OUT TO RWANDA THE PERCEPTION THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS OF THE PROBLEMS HERE. YET BBG INSISTED THAT THE RWANDANS MUST DEPEND ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR FUTURE HELP. "YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS THINK. YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT THE NGOS THINK. YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THINKS. BE CAREFUL! IN THE AGE OF MASS COMMUNICATION, CNN, UNION, PARLIAMENTS,

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TELEVISION, COMMENTATORS, IMAGE CAN BE MORE IMPORTANT
THAN REALITY."

6. AS IF IN ANSWER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S COMMENTS, PRESIDENT BIZIMUGU'S TOAST AT A STATE DINNER THAT EVENING ACKNOWLEDGED BOUTROS AS THE FIRST STATESMAN OF RANK TO DECRY GENOCIDE IN RWANDA BUT THEN WENT ON TO CRITICIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR NOT RESPONDING TO THE CRISIS AND FOR BEING DELINQUENT IN THEIR SUBSEQUENT PLEDGES OF ASSISTANCE. THE PRESIDENT BLAMED THE KIBEHO TRAGEDY ON "HARDCORE IDP'S" AND RWANDA'S SECURITY PROBLEMS ON EXTERNAL REFUGEES. IN GENERAL HIS COMMENTS WERE TOUGHER THAN THOSE WE HAD HEARD DURING THE ROUNDTABLE REVIEW AND A SORT OF APOLOGIA FOR THE STATUS QUO. BOUTROS GHALI REMINDED THE ASSEMBLED GOVERNMENT AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS OF DONOR FATIGUE AND SAID HIS PROBLEM WAS HOW TO CONTAIN IT. HE NEEDED RWANDANS' HELP IN HIS

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EFFORT TO HELP THEM.

7. THE FOLLOWING DAY AFTER THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S VISIT TO NYARUBUYE MASSACRE SITE AND OVERFLIGHT OF THE PRISON EXTENSION AT SINDA, HE WENT TO CALL ON THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT AND WAS IMMEDIATELY USHERED INTO THEIR

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SECSTATE WASHDC 1031

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 002269

E.O. 12356: 10 YEARS
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SUBJECT: BOUTROS-GHALI VISIT STIRS UP RESENTMENT

PRESENCE WITHOUT ANY OF HIS HANDLERS. ALTHOUGH HIS STAFF WAS FURIOUS AT THIS "DIPLOMATIC INCIDENT" BOUTROS DID NOT SEEM TO MIND, TELLING THEM LATER THAT IT ALLOWED HIM TO

BE EVEN MORE FRANK IN HIS COMMENTS TO THE RWANDAN LEADERS. AS IF TO HAVE THE LAST WORD, THE GOVERNMENT LET AIRPORT PERSONNEL STAGE A PROTEST RIGHT OUTSIDE THE VIP LOUNGE IN EASY REACH OF THE PRESS GATHERED FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE. SIGNS AND
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SHOUTED SLOGANS LIKE "BOUTROS YOUR VISIT DISAPPOINTS," AND "BOUTROS, STOOGE OF THE FRENCH" DEMONSTRATED THE IMMATURITY OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S HOSTS AND THEIR IMPERVIOUSNESS TO WELL-INTENTIONED ADVICE.

8. IN A PRIVATE CONVERSATION THE FOLLOWING DAY, []
[] TOLD AMBASSADOR RAWSON THAT OVERALL THE VISIT HAD GONE WELL BUT OPINED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL MIGHT HAVE DELIVERED HIS MESSAGE A BIT MORE GENTLY. RWANDANS WHO LISTENED TO RADIO COVERAGE OF THE VISIT EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE TENOR OF BOUTROS' REMARKS. RWANDA PERMREP TO THE UN MANZI TOLD AMBASSADOR RAWSON THAT HE FELT THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAD GONE BEYOND ALL DIPLOMATIC BOUNDARIES IN HIS DRESSING DOWN OF RWANDAN AUTHORITIES. RAWSON COUNTERED THAT BOUTROS PROVED HE WAS RWANDA'S BEST FRIEND BY POINTING RWANDAN LEADERSHIP TO THE REALITY OF THEIR SITUATION. MANZI WAS NOT CONVINCED.

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9. COMMENT. THERE SEEM TO BE A DISCONNECT BETWEEN THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND HIS LISTENERS. RWANDANS HAVE BEEN VOCALLY IMPATIENT WITH THE RESULTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INTERVENTION AT THE TIME OF THE GENOCIDE AND SINCE; THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S MESSAGE WAS THAT THEY WEREN'T TRYING HARD ENOUGH TO PLEASE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. COMING AFTER A SUCCESSFUL ROUNDTABLE REVIEW IN WHICH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE AND THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE WERE GLOSSED OVER IN PROTESTATIONS OF MUTUAL REGARD, THE STERN

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REALITIES PROCLAIMED BY AFRICA'S FIRST SECRETARY GENERAL
(AND THE FIRST EVER TO VISIT RWANDA) WERE AN UNWELCOME
WAKE-UP CALL. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER RWANDAN
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LEADERSHIP WILL HEED THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S EARNEST
PLEA, OR TRY TO DISCREDIT BOTH THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.
AT A TIME WHEN THE UN AND UNAMIR HAVE A NEW MANDATE FOR
PROMOTING POLITICAL DIALOGUE, RWANDAN REACTION TO THE
SECRETARY GENERAL'S VISIT MAY WELL ENCUMBER FUTURE UN
DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES.RAWSON

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